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ABSTRACT

This monograph reconstructs a theory of news, public opinion, and social control originally presented between 1904 and 1941 by Robert Ezra Park, a founder of the sociological study of mass communication and public opinion, and suggests that the theory is pertinent to contemporary journalists and scholars. Park's work is described as the basis of many ideas now popular in mass communication theory, including the news functions of surveillance, correlation, transmission, and entertainment: the conceptual scheme of agenda setting: the coorientational model that links the individual to a social system: and the techniques of precision and advocacy journalism. The sections of the monograph describe the relationship of Park's life to his theory, his theoretical framework and empirical methods, and the central elements in his theory. (AEA)

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and CECILIE GAZIANO

# *Robert Ezra Park's Theory of News, Public Opinion and Social Control*

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John P. Robinson and Leo W. Jeffres, "Newspapers in the Age of Television: Stage Two" (2/26/79).

David J. Russo, "The Origins of Local News in the American Country Press: 1840s-1870s (3/12/79).

Raymond L. Carroll, "Network Television Documentaries, 1948-1975" (6/18/79).

Eugene F. Shaw, "NIS and Radio's All-News Predicament" (7/2/79).

Marlene Cuthbert, "The Caribbean News Agency: Third World Model?" (7/13/79).

THE PURPOSE of this monograph is to reconstruct a theory of news, public opinion and social control which is pertinent to journalists and mass communication scholars today, although its author, Robert Ezra Park, an early journalist and University of Chicago sociologist, presented the theory between 1904 and 1941. Park must be considered a founder of the sociological study of mass communication and public opinion and the field's first theorist.

Park has been overlooked until recently. Much mass communication research has been based upon psychological rather than sociological theory. Sociologists in the symbolic interaction tradition, which is partly based on Park's thought, had an early interest in the mass media, but later shifted to other phenomena. Herbert Blumer, one of Park's students and a foremost advocate of symbolic interactionism, applied a Park-like analysis to the study of public opinion (1948) and mass media effects (1959).[1] Other symbolic interaction analyses were applied to the mass media in the 1950s.[2] Since then, the symbolic interaction perspective waned in mass communication research until very recently.

Park is well recognized by sociology, particularly for his contributions to human ecology, collective behavior and social control, urban sociology and race relations. Turner says that "probably no other man has so deeply influenced the direction taken by American empirical sociology . . . ,"[3] and Boskoff calls Park "perhaps the single most influential person in American sociology . . . after more than forty years of persistent application."[4] Yet, Park entered academic sociology when he was 50 years of age.

One of Park's most important contributions is his distinction between the crowd and the public, the subject of his Ph.D. thesis filed in Germany in 1904 but translated into English only in 1972.[5] In notes accompanying the translation, Levine calls his distinction between crowd and public "a brilliant feat of intellectual differentiation" which has "largely been lost sight of in later discussions of

mass society and public opinion."[6] Closely related are Park's contributions to public opinion, specifically as it relates to news, news institutions, collective behavior and the concept of social control in a democratic society. Park was interested in the newspaper because he believed that the real power of the press is in its ability to initiate the forces of public opinion and subsequent political action.

Park's work anticipated many ideas now popular in mass communication theory. First, the major functions of communication in society presented by political scientist Harold D. Lasswell in 1948 had been described by Park in the 1920s.[7] Lasswell's *surveillance* function is a restatement of Park's assertion that communication of news functions to "keep individuals and societies oriented and in touch with their world and reality . . ."[8] The *correlation* function relates to Park's concept of social integration in time and space, and also to his concepts of the public, public opinion and collective behavior. The *transmission* function is taken more directly from Park's textbook (written with Burgess in 1921): "the transmission of the social heritage takes place by communication . . ."[9] A fourth function, *entertainment,* was added in 1959 by Charles Wright.[10] Park discussed entertainment in his description of the yellow press, and saw it as performing several social functions.

Second, the conceptual scheme of agenda-setting, which has been developing since 1972, partly relies upon Park's definition of the news as a fundamental condition for discussion.[11] The agenda-setting hypothesis is that the mass media determine what topics people talk about (but not how they think about them) by establishing the salience of issues.

Third, of five schools of thought identified as contributing to the coorientational model, two are represented by teachers, students or colleagues of Park: Louis Wirth, Charles H. Cooley, George H. Mead, John Dewey, William James, W. I. Thomas and Ernest W. Burgess.[12] This research perspective, which is related to symbolic interaction, focuses upon links between the individual and the social system—links by which the individual becomes cooriented to other persons, groups or social elements through adjustments to perceived common agreements, understandings or symbols such as gestures and language.[13] This perspective is clearly present in Park's thinking.

Fourth, as a journalist in the 19th Century, Park practiced tech-

niques of precision journalism and advocacy journalism, considered innovative in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Fifth, Helen MacGill Hughes asserts that Park's "imaginative view of public opinion as a measurable phenomenon" was ahead of its time and "was an inspiration to the pioneers of survey analysis in the 1940s."[14] Finally, Turner credits Park with foreshadowing the idea of the two-step flow of communication and influence, although Park did not elaborate upon that idea.[15]

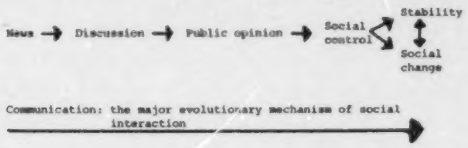
Janowitz writes that Park's 1916 essay on "The City" is a strikingly contemporary statement of the issues that research must still confront.[16] Park raised a number of empirical questions in it and elsewhere which have not been adequately investigated today: How are interpersonal channels of communication linked to the mass media? What would be the effect of making the newspaper a municipal monopoly? To what extent does the newspaper control and to what extent is it controlled by public sentiment? Does publication of the news speed up social change or stabilize social movements already in progress? To what extent are the mass media an organizing force in society? What is the role of public opinion in social change? What are the implications of the public opinion formation process for social policy?

The field of mass communication has had few philosophers and descriptive researchers who, like Park, can take a broad view of society and lay out large territories for theoretical development and research. His theory of news, public opinion and social control was never formally presented to the scientific community but is implicit in his many writings. It holds many ideas useful to mass communication scholars today because it reintroduces many concepts relevant to an examination of the role of mass media in a dynamic society. In addition, recent publications in several fields attest to a revival of interest in Park's work.[17]

The following sections of this monograph describe: the relationship of Park's biography to his theory, his theoretical framework and empirical methods and the central elements in his theory, which are shown in Figure 1

"Theory" in this monograph means an interrelated set of concepts, assumptions and statements which analyze and explain phenomena. The phenomena that Park sought to explain were the development of public opinion and its relationships to social action or

*Major Elements in Park's Theory*




inaction. The statements in the theory are not directly testable in the form in which he developed them, but testable statements can be derived from them. Some testable hypotheses are offered in the conclusion of this monograph.

## *THE LIFE OF ROBERT EZRA PARK*

Park was born February 14, 1864, on a farm at Harveyville, Pa. Soon after his birth the family moved to Red Wing, Minn., to be with his paternal grandfather, a physician. Even in his youth Robert Park seemed to observe his environment with the eye of a sociologist. He later described the lower-class Scandinavian-Americans among whom he lived and, in particular, his fascination with the middle-class New Englanders on the other side of town:

> Unconsciously I treasured every little incident, every significant word and revealing gesture that threw light on their lives.
>
> I realize now that they were very ordinary people, most of them, but they lived a glorified existence in my imagination. They were almost the only lives that I knew completely. . . . I mention these things because, while books have helped me to think, most that I have learned of the aspects of life in which my interests lie has come out of my personal experience.[18]

Growing up to become "an awkward, sentimental and romantic boy," Park developed an interest in writing, through publishing what he termed an "amateur newspaper."[19] Although his father preferred that he become a merchant like himself, Park chose instead to enroll at the University of Minnesota. Not satisfied with his progress the first year, he withdrew and reenrolled at the University of Michigan. There John Dewey, an instructor in philosophy, turned Park's interest toward that field.[20] Dewey introduced him to a group of students "who discussed the social issues of the day in the spirit of the reforming ideas then spreading all over the Midwest."[21]

Dewey also introduced him to Franklin Ford, a newspaperman whose ideas survive in many of Park's writings. As a reporter on the

stock market, Ford had become interested in the precise measurement of the fluctuations of public opinion, since stock prices often reflect public opinion as influenced by news. Ford and Park developed the idea for a new type of newspaper, "The Thought News," which would report the shifts and trends in public opinion on various issues. The newspaper never was published because accurate measurement was largely undeveloped.[22] Ford may be credited with impressing upon Park "the crucial importance of the news, the media of communication and the influence of public opinion."[23]

Park's circle, which included George H. Mead, Dewey and Ford, influenced him to take up a profession in which he might carry out some of his ideas.[24] He considered teaching at Red Wing,[25] but "perceived in the newspaper a medium for a career peculiarly fitted to his interest in observation, to his flair for writing, and to his desire for an opportunity of molding public opinion."[26] From age 23 to 34 he worked in various capacities as police reporter, general reporter, feature writer and city editor on newspapers in Minneapolis, Detroit, Denver, New York and Chicago.[27] By his own account he wrote muckraking stories, investigative pieces and articles that called for techniques of "scientific reporting," which he later realized was similar to survey research.[28] Coser observes:

> He was soon given special assignments to cover the urban scene, often in depth through a series of articles. He wrote on city machines and the corruption they brought in their wake. He described the squalid conditions of the city's immigrant areas and the criminal world that was ensconced there. Constantly on the prowl for news and feature stories on urban affairs, Park came to view the city as a privileged natural laboratory for the study of the new urban man whom industrial society had created.[29]

In 1894, Park married Clara Cahill, artist, the daughter of a Michigan lawyer. They were to have two sons and two daughters.[30]

Toward the end of his newspaper career Park became disillusioned with the idea that newspaper reporting of social problems could alone solve them, and he sought more knowledge about their basic nature. He determined to study philosophy at Harvard under William James and Josiah Royce and psychology under Hugo Muensterberg.[31] Park later wrote: "I wanted to gain a fundamental point of view from which I could describe the behavior of society, under the influence of news, in the precise and universal language of science."[32] Everett C. Hughes writes that:

It is said that James told him he was not bright enough to study philosophy. Park, indeed, always thought of himself as a slow man; the truth is that he was not easily satisfied with solutions to problems he thought fundamental.[33]

An essay read by James to his class, "A Certain Blindness in Human Beings,"[34] influenced Park greatly.

The "blindness" of which James spoke is the blindness each of us is likely to have for the meaning of other people's lives. At any rate what sociologists most need to know is what goes on behind the faces of men, what it is that makes life for each of us either dull or thrilling.[35]

Turner adds that this philosophy was consistent with Park's insistence "that we search for causes rather than correlations, and that we concern ourselves with the meanings of acts, rather than with behavior in a limited sense."[36]

James, along with Dewey and Mead, is classified with the pragmatic philosophers. Pragmatism represents an integration of the concept of evolution as a problem-solving process and the scientific method as a problem-solving mechanism in the context of democracy, within which the individual is able to develop to fullest potential.[37] Pragmatic philosophy contributed greatly to the development of the social-psychological school known as symbolic interactionism. Among its principal developers were Mead, Cooley, Dewey, Thomas, Florian Znaniecki and Park.[38] The threads of pragmatism can be seen in Park's ideas on society, communication and social interaction.

Park determined later that his studies at Harvard amounted to the study of "collective psychology," or what he later termed "collective behavior."[39] He received the M.A. in 1899 at the age of 35, after one year of study. The Park family then moved to Germany, where he began work on a doctorate at the University of Berlin.

The three courses Park took from Simmel there constituted the sum of his formal sociological training.[40] Coser believes that Park's general approach to society as a system of interactions is due to Simmel's influence, along with such ideas as social conflict, marginal man, characteristics of urban dwellers, social distance, society as collective behavior organized through social control and a stress on social process as a source of novelty. The philosopher, Friedrich Paulsen, introduced Park to *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft,* the work of his good friend, Ferdinand Toennies. Toennies, Simmel

and the philosopher Oswald Spengler are credited with great influence on Park.[41]

While in Berlin he read a book on the logic of the social sciences which addressed the problems of the nature of society in the same way that Park wished to view them. Because the author, the Russian sociologist Bogdan A. Kistiakowski, had studied under the philosopher Wilhelm Windelband, Park chose to go to Strasbourg (then Strassburg) and later Heidelberg to study with Windelband.[42] In Strasbourg, Park studied also with a geographer, Hettner, whose knowledge complemented the study of sociology, "for after all, culture is finally a geographical phenomenon."[43] He also studied with G. F. Knapp, an economist. Park attributed to Knapp's lectures on the German peasant his later understanding of American blacks.[44]

Park, now 40, wrote his dissertation, *Masse und Publikum* (*The Crowd and the Public*), under Windelband. The ideas of Scipio Sighele, Gustave LeBon and Gabriel Tarde also contributed to this work,[45] which he gave its final polish while back at Harvard for one year as an assistant in philosophy. There he renewed his association with James and Royce.

He began to feel that the dissertation, once expected to be "something shining," was a disappointment, and he decided that the prospects he had imagined for collective psychology were discouraging.[46] Park again tired of the world of books and longed for something larger after he received his Ph.D. in 1904.[47]

A movement protesting misrule in the Belgian Congo originated in the Boston suburb of Quincy, where the Parks then owned a home. The Congo Reform Association offered him a position as publicity agent and first secretary. The problem of race relations whetted Park's reform instincts.[48] He published three examinations of Belgian colonial atrocities in *Everybody's Magazine* in 1906-07,[49] and prepared to go to Africa. At this time he was holding three jobs, including a Harvard University assistantship and a Sunday newspaper editorship in addition to the publicity job.[50] (Inherited money helped to support the Parks after 1911.) However, Booker T. Washington, the president of Tuskegee Institute, whom Park knew through the Congo Reform Association, invited him to study race relations in the United States instead, at Tuskegee. He accepted and acted as an informal secretary on travels with Washington, working at Tuskegee and traveling in the South during the

winters of the next several years.[51] He and Washington traveled in Europe during 1910 to study peasant life—for later comparison with the status of American blacks. The two wrote their observations in *The Man Farthest Down*.[52] Park was actually the major contributor, although Washington was listed as primary author.[53]

Washington later organized an international conference on blacks, drawing blacks and colonial administrators from Africa and the West Indies. W. I. Thomas, who taught a course on "the Negro mind" at the University of Chicago met Park at this meeting and, at Thomas's request, Park went to Chicago in 1914 to teach a course about blacks on a low-salaried, non-renewable appointment.[54] He was now 50.

The original sociology department included Albion Small (chairman), George E. Vincent, Charles Richmond Henderson and Thomas. With the addition to its membership of Ellsworth Faris (chairman), Ernest W. Burgess and Park, the department began to rise to its pinnacle of productivity and leadership in American sociology.[55]

Ellsworth Faris said of Park's first years at Chicago:

> His success was not immediate. In 1914 Small was an outstanding figure on the campus, Henderson was still remembered for his brilliant work, and Thomas was at the height of his fame, attracting students into his courses by the hundreds. By 1920, however, when the students swarmed back after the war, Park had become the outstanding member of the department.[56]

Not only was Park an illuminating lecturer, he also was an excellent and dedicated teacher, taking an interest in his students that often encroached upon time for personal and family life. For the next nine years Park continued as a professorial lecturer at a nominal salary. He taught other courses without further remuneration until he was finally appointed to a full professorship.[57]

The article, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment," which Park wrote in 1916 for the *American Journal of Sociology*, helped move Small to initiate a program of research on the city of Chicago, of which Park was the informal leader of a group of historians, political scientists, economists, anthropologists, geographers and sociologists.[58] The article was published later in *The City*, which Park edited with Burgess and R. D. McKenzie.[59]

In 1921 Park and Burgess produced a comprehensive sociology

textbook of more than a thousand pages. *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*[60] became perhaps the most famous sociology text in the United States;[61] in 1968 its first chapter was termed "perhaps still the best historical exposition of sociology and its relation to the other social sciences."[62] It also helped to standardize the treatment of sociology and is credited with setting the future direction and content of American sociology. The book grew out of the materials that the authors used in teaching but supposedly was sparked by student anger at being charged for the mimeographed materials for another professor—who profited personally from the proceeds.[63]

Another book published in 1921 carries Park's name and that of Herbert A. Miller. *Old World Traits Transplanted*[64] was written primarily by W. I. Thomas in collaboration with Park and Miller; Thomas had been forced to resign from the University after being accused of a sexual indiscretion, although the charge was later thrown out of court, and the publishers and sponsors would not allow his name on the book, so Park's and Miller's were attached.[65] Park authored a companion volume the next year, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control.*[66]

In a similar vein Park began to study Asian immigrants and their families on the West Coast, which led to "East by West," a special issue of *The Survey Graphic.* Park wrote one of the articles. Park produced numerous articles, lectures, book reviews—and introductions to books written by others, mostly his former students. The articles were collected in three volumes and published in the 1950s.[67]

Perhaps Park's greatest contributions to sociology and other fields was his influence on students. Many of them became well-known, incuding Herbert Blumer, Everett C. Hughes, Louis Wirth, Helen MacGill Hughes, Robert Redfield (his son-in-law), Edward Reuter, Walter C. Reckless, Joseph Lohman, John Dollard, Ernest Hiller, Clifford Shaw, Willard Waller, Charles S. Johnson, Stuart Queen, Leonard Cottrell, E. Franklin Frazier, R. D. McKenzie, Harvey W. Zorbaugh, Frederick M. Thrasher, Ernest M. Mowrer, Ruth Shonle Cavan, Edgar T. Thompson, W. O. Brown and Robert E. L. Faris.[68]

One of these, Faris, provides a portrait of Park in his later years. Of a soft and portly figure, Park's preoccupation with sociology contributed to a sometimes haphazard appearance. He might lecture with shaving soap still in his ears, in rumpled clothing. He fre-

quently misplaced books and even arrived at a convention without a copy of the paper he was to read. His gruff and blunt manner could upset students, sometimes to the point of tears. But they soon learned that Park had real affection for them, giving generously of his time and ideas. "Few of his students have been able adequately to acknowledge the extent of their personal debt to Park, for he gave them organized sociology in such a way that it came to appear to them as their own."[69]

After retirement from the University of Chicago in 1933, his remaining years were spent at Fisk University as a visiting professor, studying race relations.[70] He had traveled extensively, spending a year as research professor at the University of Hawaii, lecturing in Peiking, attending the Fourth Pacific Science Congress in Java in 1929, touring India, South America and South Africa in 1931 and Brazil in 1937.[71] He once said:

> I expect that I have actually covered more ground, tramping about in cities in different parts of the world, than any other living man. Out of all this I gained, among other things, a conception of the city, the community, and the region, not as a geographical phenomenon merely but as a kind of social organism.[72]

During his lifetime, he received numerous honors. He was president of the American Sociological Society, a member of the National Social Science Research Council, delegate to the Institute of Pacific Relations, editor of a series of books on immigration for the Carnegie Corporation, associate editor of several academic journals and member of more than a dozen learned societies.[73] He had contacts beyond the university with foundations and research organizations, social science boards and committees and social research projects.[74]

Park died in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1944, one week short of his 80th birthday. He left a vast legacy—of ideas which have permeated social science, numerous writings still of interest today,[75] many talented students who have taught still others, and a rich personal and professional life, inspiring to other scholars.

## *THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHOD*

By the time Park had joined the University of Chicago faculty, his thinking had been influenced profoundly by Darwin's "web of life" and his theory of the origin of the species, as well as by the work of

other evolutionists, including Ernst Haeckel, Thomas and Julian Huxley, Herbert Spencer and Auguste Comte.[76] He conceived of sociology as a natural science of human behavior. Boskoff notes that Park's respect for both Spencer and Darwin probably was responsible for his receptivity to the ecological approach utilized by plant and animal biologists, an approach which influenced his own orientation to the study of sociological phenomena.[77] The ecological model became his conceptual framework for converting observable regularities in society into classifications of human interaction and urban processes. He and R. D. McKenzie are credited with coining the term "human ecology."

### *The Ecological Model*

Park believed that viewing the facts of city life within the ecological framework would enable him to transform concrete observations into systematic and conceptual knowledge. "Human ecology" provided the key to a scientific language which could describe evolutionary processes at all levels in an urban society. He incorporated concepts such as competition, conflict, invasion, dominance, segregation, symbiosis, succession, accommodation and assimilation to express physical and social changes which he observed in his studies of social life. Coser describes Park's urban sociology as being "anchored in his conceptualization of various stages in the process of invasion and succession through which various groups carve out their ecological niches, their natural areas, in the urban environment."[78]

Using the ecological model, Park distinguished between the ecological (biotic) community and society as a whole, the ecological community being seen as an aggregate of individuals characterized by symbiosis, the division of labor and competitive cooperation, whereas society was viewed as a community of persons organized through communication, socialization and collective behavior.[79]

### *The Natural History Technique*

The ecological approach led Park to conceive of dynamic social processes as having "natural histories" or sequences of stages through which they developed, leading to both institutionalization

and to social change, each being different stages or dimensions in social control. Social relationships and institutions are always in the process of "becoming." The theory may be viewed as a natural history of publics, public opinion and social control, with the evolutionary mechanism being communication. Turner believes the natural history technique gradually lost followers because of problems of quantification and objectivity, but adds, "But a refined natural history approach, allowing for branching, and specifying the different contingencies which determine progression between each pair of stages, may still be a vital alternative to static, relational formulations."[80]

Park was interested in both dimensions of social control, stability and change; first, how society regulates itself, and the role of traditions, norms and institutions in maintaining cooperation and integrity. Park quoted Herbert Spencer's question: "How does a mere collection of individuals succeed in acting in a corporate and consistent way?"[81] Sociology provided for Park a means for "investigating the processes by which individuals are inducted into and induced to cooperate in some sort of permanent corporate existence . . ."[82]

Turner, Coser, Boskoff and Janowitz all describe Park's concern with the process of social change under the larger rubric of social control. For Park, "social control concerns not only the mechanisms underlying traditional continuity but also the means through which the coordination involved in change is achieved."[83]

Coser also describes Park's conception of social change as a dimension of social control: "involving a three-stage sequence, or 'natural history,' beginning with dissatisfactions and the resulting disturbances and social unrest, leading to mass movements, and ending in new accommodations within a restructured institutional order."[84] Traditions, norms and institutionalization of social activities and relationships thus constitute but one phase in social change. Boskoff describes Park's analysis of social change as a cyclical process including "conditions, groupings responsive to conditions, cultural productions, acceptance and social control (institutionalization), and subsequent difficulties, which become the conditions of succeeding cycles."[85] Janowitz saw that Park's social control indicated not only a mechanism of conformity but also an attempt to understand how society *both* regulates itself and changes.[86]

To Park, social control was "the central fact and the central problem of society."

> Society is everywhere a control organization. Its function is to organize, integrate, and direct the energies resident in the individuals of which it is composed.[87]

While a variety of social control mechanisms operates to regulate competition and compromise conflict, a permanent state of stability or equilibrium is not the result but, rather, a temporary state of accommodation is reached which allows for new groups to arise in order to "claim their share of scarce values, thus questioning the scheme of things that has arisen from previous accommodations."[88]

The theory of news, public opinion and social control implicit in Park's writings therefore assumes that the communication of information, news and public opinion processes functions at two stages of social control to maintain social norms and custom and to facilitate social change at varying rates.

*Data Collection and Analysis Methods*—Park tended to favor qualitative methods—the journalistic method of investigation and description, the anthropological method of participant observation and the historical-journalistic method of recording events and analyzing human documents.[89] His goal was not only prediction but also an intuitive understanding of cultures, processes and the meaning of actions.[90] Disdaining formal hypothesis testing in his own work, he concerned himself with broad theory, but suggested to students that they test parts of the theory by numerous methods.[91] For instance, Park encouraged E. S. Bogardus to develop a quantitative technique to measure social distance, which led to his well-known scale.[92] Although Park, like others at Chicago, was suspicious of the new statistical methods, he wrote: "In so far as social structure can be defined in terms of position, social changes may be defined in terms of movement; and society exhibits, in one of its aspects, characteristics that can be measured and described in mathematical formulas."[93] In 1927 William F. Ogburn brought Giddings' emphasis on statistics to the Chicago sociology department, where students and faculty debated the case study approach versus statistical methods. Samuel Stouffer's work first as a student there and then professor did the most to help quantitative methods gain acceptance at Chicago.[94]

## *PARK'S THEORY OF NEWS, PUBLIC OPINION AND SOCIAL CONTROL*

The following four sections elaborate on the concepts, assumptions and statements in Park's theory.

### COMMUNICATION AND SOCIETY

The major premise is that communication binds society in time and space.

*Society is interaction.*

Communication is the action of human minds on each other.

Communication develops whenever people gather.

Communication creates the mores, tradition and culture.

Tradition and culture transmitted by communication play a large role in the development of the self in two contexts: primary groups and society.

Communication makes collective action possible; it facilitates consensus and understanding within social groups.

Communication functions as an integrative agent in society; it binds diverse social entities and enables them to function in their own ways.

*The scientific medium of interaction is communication.*

*Human society is organized around two basic processes—communication and competition.*

Communication is a means of social organization through the interaction processes of conflict, accommodation and assimilation.

Competition is non-social interaction.

Competition and communication operate according to different principles, but interact.

*Mobility and mass communication combine to increase social interaction.*

Contacts of mobility define the area of interaction in space.

The mass media are stabilizing agents in society because they allow location of and communication with mobile individuals.

Mass media such as newspapers are potentially divisive forces.

Mass media such as movies are potentially integrative forces.

### *Society Exists Where Communication Exists*

The action of human minds on each other is Park's definition of communication, following Tarde.[95] He recognized, however, that communication between individuals was inexact. It develops whenever people gather, regardless of degree of formality, of social distance or of acquaintance. Park saw individuals in society as continuously responsive to each other:

> Society stated in mechanistic terms reduces to interaction. A person is a member of society so long as he responds to social forces; when interaction ends, he is isolated and detached; he ceases to be a person and becomes a "lost soul."[96]

The conception of interaction as the fine web that binds society within the dimensions of time and space he took from Simmel.

The human community is created in and transmitted by communication.[97] Park emphasized John Dewey's statement that:

> Society not only continues to exist by transmission, by communication, but it may fairly be said to exist in transmission, in communication. There is more than a verbal tie between the words common, community, and communication.[98]

Culture is an end product of communication because individual experiences become experiences held in common through repeated interaction and the sharing of common understandings. In the end, culture and society become abstract because they are organized around secondary contacts.[99] Further, people long dead maintain control over the living through tradition, mores and culture.

Turner observes that Park, unlike Cooley and Mead, viewed the development of the individual within society and civilization as well as within the primary group. The collisions of cultures and the actions of collectivities affect the development of the personality, as well as the development of society.[100]

Communication functions also to make collective action possible. Awareness of the proximity of others provides a condition for collective behavior, the most elementary form of which is the domination of mood. Collectivities do not depend on tradition and custom; collectivities such as crowds and publics can spring up spontaneously from communication alone.[101]

### *The Medium of Interaction Is Communication*

Observing that other sciences stipulated media of interaction, Park designated that of sociology to be communication. He distinguished three "natural levels" of interaction: the senses, the emotions, and sentiments and ideas.[102]

His notion of the principle of interaction derived from atomic theory,[103] with its kernel concept of motion. Ideas and influences from others strike individuals in dizzying succession, bounce and careen off others, setting off haphazard chain reactions and modifying the internal states of those struck.[104] Thousands of particles of

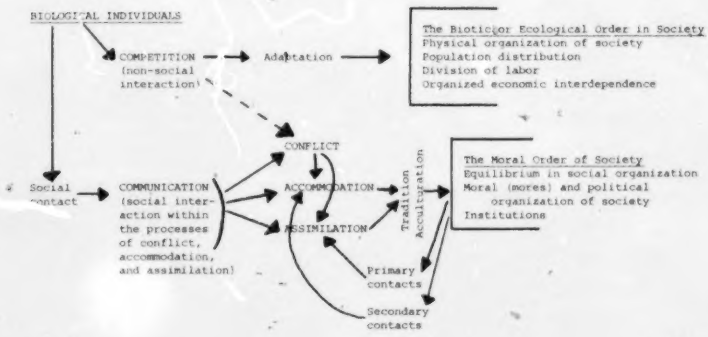
society constantly react on each other in a frenzy of activity, forcing continual pulsating adjustments. "In every natural process we may observe the two essential factors which constitute it, namely, heterogeneous elements and their reciprocal interaction which we ascribe to certain natural forces."[105] The heterogeneity of human groups causes interaction with other groups: "Every stronger ethnic or social group strives to subjugate and make serviceable to its purposes every weaker element which exists or may come within the field of its influence."[106]

*Communication and Social Interaction*

Four types of interaction—competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation—relate to communication.[107] Two primary processes, competition and communication, are the nucleus of human community organization, as distinct from that of animals. Two orders spring from these two processes: the biotic, based in competition, and the moral, rooted in communication. Hughes says the two can be seen as more distinctly different in urban society and more bound together in rural societies.[108] Turner notes that Park envisioned the two orders as types of interaction, though operating on different principles.[109] Figure 2 depicts these relationships.

The ecological organization of society is not just organization in spatial patterns but also a process combining with the social process in its functioning.[110] Turner further relates the ecological and social orders to civilization in his interpretation of Park's concepts.

*Relationship of the Four Processes of Interaction to Communication*



(S)ocial contact and communication are of central importance, civilization is plainly not territorial and precultural but multicultural, and the capability for collective behavior is high. Thus the distinction between culture and civilization refers to the social and ecological systems together and does not rely upon the one or the other.[111]

Competition is complemented by communication, although the two operate independently.[112] Communication is totally social, facilitating and integrating cultural identity, awareness and tradition. Yet competition exists within every social group, and each must maintain non-social relations—the instrumental use of others without intellectual and emotional involvement. Communication and competition maintain order within social and non-social relations, respectively. A result of communication, custom, determines the division of labor. Turner adds, "If competition dictates the division of labor, conflict fixes the individual's place in society."[113]

Communication is temporarily dysfunctional when previously isolated groups are brought together. Competition may first be amplified, then turn into conflict, heightening the products of uncertainty—anxiety and fear. The paradigm of the four processes suggests resolution of the conflict through accommodation and assimilation in concert with communication, although Park recognized that conflict is not always resolved.

Conflict and competition are contrasted in that conflict requires contact and communication with individuals and groups; competition requires neither. Conflict plays a primary role in the formation of public opinion, which is continuously affected by news.

Accommodation and assimilation play roles in communication of the social heritage, which is transmitted by tradition, as between generations, and by acculturation, as between groups. Assimilation tends to take place within primary contacts, accommodation mainly in secondary relations. Communication, in the process of accommodation, maintains balance by permitting the assaults of change to be modified and absorbed into the social tradition. Communication is crucial to assimilation because it allows individuals and groups to be absorbed into the dominant society as they take on its language, attitudes and behaviors.

In assimilation, uncertainty is reduced in relations with groups (such as racial minorities), theoretically leading to the eradication of prejudice. But assimilation does not mean homogenization; mi-

norority groups need not lose their cultural identity. Turner elaborates:

> In national groups, likeness is superficial, and individual differences are considerable. But the superficial similarity is important because it nullifies the taboos against free movement and enables the individual to move into strange groups.[114]

Turner suggests that Park's model could be called a "dynamic disequilibrium model" because true equilibrium among the four processes is never attained, and rigid end states are never reached.[115] Constant pressure for change keeps the society in flux. The model employs a natural history technique, a description of the evolution of a phenomemon's forms, in which each stage sparks a succeeding one, a principle similar to that of the atomic theory.[116]

### *Communication, Mobility Contacts and Mass Media*

> Contacts of mobility . . . define the area of the interaction of the members of the group in space. The degree of departure from accepted ideas and modes of behavior and the extent of sympathetic approach to the strange and the novel largely depend upon the rate, the number, and the intensity of the contacts of mobility.[117]

> . . . the efficiency of any society or of any group is to be measured not alone in terms of numbers or of material resources, but also in terms of mobility and access through communication and publicity to the common fund of tradition and culture.[118]

Mobility and mass communication combine to increase social interaction. Increased interaction may facilitate communication but does not ensure increased understanding, because differences in language, experience, culture and interest intervene.[119] Park perceived the developing mass media as extensions of interpersonal communication and mobility contacts, and although some kinds of communication are potentially divisive and increased mobility brings instability, other kinds of communication are integrative. The mass media may act as stabilizing agents:

> Society is . . . made up of independent, locomoting individuals. . . . Locomotion defines the very nature of society. But, in order that there may be permanence and progress in society, the individuals who compose it must be located; they must be located for one thing, in order to maintain communication, for it is only through communication that the moving equilibrium which we call society can be maintained. . .
>
> (All of) the extraordinary means of communication that characterize modern

society—the newspaper, the radio, and the telephone—are merely devices for preserving this permanence of location and of function in the social group, in connection with the greatest possible mobility and freedom of its members.[120]

Media such as newspapers are potentially divisive forces because news gives rise to different points of view. Media such as motion pictures are potentially integrative. Further, news is usually interpreted on a higher intellectual level than movies and functions primarily to orient people in an ever-changing world, in Park's view. Movies (and later television) portray themes closer to ordinary people, are able to evoke the most elemental and primitive feelings and function as a means of displaying emotion and attitudes, more nearly universal than news.[121]

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF NEWS

Here the major premise is that news is a published form of communication which alerts people to changes and the need for change in their environment, and which promotes public discussion and public opinion.

*News is public information which makes people talk and discuss.*

News is a form of unsystematic knowledge, presenting facts about isolated events.

News brings issues or crises into the public arena, causing readjustments at all levels of society.

*News is presented in different forms, each of which has potentially a different impact on discussion and public opinion.*

Investigative reporting exposes needs for change and explains changes in progress.

News summaries impart unique significance to events by classifying information and explaining relationships to other events dispersed in time and space.

Human interest stories transform news into popular, readable literature.

Fiction may be utilized to communicate complex dimensions of news, issues or crises.

*The interpretation of news is the role of both news media personnel and members of different publics.*

News and editorial columns are complementary.

Objectivity is present when news is capable of differing interpretations by members of the same public.

Both uniformity and diversity are required to maintain social stability and to generate social change.

News circulation depends upon both a common frame of reference and a degree of inner tension in society.

News and editorials are read by different types of people.

*News functions in society both to preserve stability and to generate social change*

*through initiation of the public opinion process by presentation of different points of view.*

News initiates public opinion by promoting discussion.

Opinions that otherwise might be suppressed are made public by news.

News facilitates the mobility of social groups.

News promotes participation in social movements and makes political action possible.

News disperses attention and decreases tension.

Editorials focus attention for political action.

News is a major concept in Park's theory of public opinion and social control; news provides information and promotes discussion—the initial step in the formation of public opinion and collaborative action.

Throughout his career Park sought to develop a working concept of news, to distinguish it from other forms of information such as rumor, gossip and propaganda, and at the same time to define news in such a way as to make it a critical component of the democratic process in the formation of public opinion and collective action.

### *Characteristics of News*

Park recognized news as one of the most elementary forms of knowledge. Drawing upon William James' distinction between "knowledge about" (formal, analytic, systematic, scientific) and "knowledge of" (unsystematic, intuitive, clinical, closer to common sense) along a continuum of knowledge, he viewed news as having a location of its own, more like but not exactly like history.[122] News was not viewed as "knowledge about" but as a form of "knowledge of," a distinction which has become important in contemporary mass communication research.[123]

News is concerned with isolated events, fixed in time and located in space, a departure from the ritual and the daily routine,[124] disconnected items having to do with current events in a real world aiding the individual in interpreting reality. "Each and all of us live in a world of which we are the center, and the dimensions of this world are defined by the direction and the distances from which the news comes to us."[125] News is distinguished from rumor and gossip in that news doesn't merely circulate; publication gives news the character of a public document, authenticated by exposure to the critical examination of the public.[126]

By making public an issue or a crisis, news has the capability of causing a readjustment in society:

> (News) is the existence of a critical situation which converts what were otherwise mere information into news. Where there is an issue at stake, where, in short, there is a crisis, there information which might affect the outcome one way or another becomes "live matter," as the newspaper men say. Live matter is news; dead matter is mere information.[127]

Park used examples of readjustments resulting from news, the fluctuation of stock and commodity prices in response to news of world economic conditions and the professional and trade papers which keep their members informed regarding new methods, experiences and devices.[128]

News is always something that "will make people talk," in the words of Charles A. Dana, even when it does not make them act,[129] a definition which suggested to Park the aim of the early independent journalists to "print anything that would make people talk and think, for most people do not think until they begin to talk. Thought is, after all, a sort of internal conversation."[130] It "is certainly not something that leaves them purring."[131]

News announces events, rather than interpreting them or seeking to relate events to each other; it comes with "an urgency that requires action—even if no more than a change of attitude or reaffirmation of an opinion"[132]—an importance. "Importance" refers to an event about which people can do something. But news is transient. When "there is nothing to be done about the events reported in the newspaper, they have ceased to be news."[133] A news report is not final because events continually evolve; once published, news becomes history.

### *Types of News Presentation*

Type of news was seen by Park as a major variable.

*Scientific Reporting.* Reporting should be done in a scientific manner, he believed. Today it is called "investigative reporting." He described such reporting as:

> A sort of research, of a sort. . . . something more than mere muckraking. In Detroit, for example, I looked up and printed the record of a quaint little old woman who was an habitual drunkard. I found that she had spent some 30 years of her life serving short terms in the workhouse. The purpose of this was to raise the question

whether habitual drunkenness should not properly be treated more as a disease than as a crime.[134]

Park also experimented with the use of social science research methods, similar to what is now called "precision journalism." For example:

We had a diphtheria epidemic. I plotted the cases on a map of the city and in this way called attention to what seemed to be the source of the infection, an open sewer.[135]

He called his technique "scientific reporting."

*News Summaries.* Park recognized a need to present news in forms other than as accounts of isolated events. He viewed the function of national weekly news magazines like *Time* and *Newsweek* as imparting unique significance to news items by classifying them and by relating them to other events dispersed in time and space.[136]

*The Human Interest Story.* The human interest story appears to have been an enigma to Park, who seemed reluctant to classify it as "news." The human interest story, he said had transformed the newspaper "from a more or less sober record of events into a form of popular literature."[137] At this point he thought the distinction between the news story and the fiction story tended to disappear in the human interest story. Later he said, "Human interest stories are not news. They are literature."[138] Particularly interesting are news stories of a continuing nature:

. . . when some important or disturbing event occurs that makes the front page and captures the headlines, it may also capture and hold attention for days and weeks. . . . The . . . continued story . . . may become so absorbing as to dwarf interest in (lesser incidents) . . . as it becomes more and more enthralling. . . . Readers . . . interpret these incidents and all the details in terms of memories of their own experiences. . . . In this way the news ceases to be mere news, and acquires the significance of literature. What fixes and holds the interest of the reader tends to disorient him; tends to possess him.[139]

*Fiction.* Park also discussed the use of the novel in presenting news information. He observed that "since news has tended to assume the character of literature, so fiction has assumed more and more the character of news," citing Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath.*[140] Present-day "new journalism" combines fiction's narrative form with a reporter's eye for detail.

*Interpretation of News—Editor and Public*

The interpretation of news concerned Park in two senses: the interpretation of news by editors for presentation to the public and how news is interpreted by readers who are members of different publics.

Park noted the expansion of media and the rising importance of news in the public opinion process as compared with other forms of knowledge.

> The reporter [in 1927] has replaced the editor as the dominant figure on the press, and the news the reporter puts into the present-day newspaper exercises a greater influence on public opinion than the comments of the editor on the editorial page.[141]

While the editorial and news pages have different origins, the two are intertwined and intended to complement one another.[142] Editorial page policy is determined by political considerations; news policy is determined subjectively by the editor's definition of "news."

Interpretation of the news is not the role of the reporter, but that of the editorial writer, who explains the consequences of the news and points the way to action. He quoted Lippman: "When those who control (the news columns) arrogate to themselves the right to determine by their own consciences what shall be reported and why, democracy is unworkable."[143] Park seems to have viewed the news reporter as a mere conduit of information about events. The fact that news is capable of differing interpretations was proof to Park of its objectivity. Objective reporting should lead to public discussion:

> If . . . different individuals draw different and even contradictory conclusions from the same story, well, that is what news is. . . . The fact that a news story provoked violent approval and violent disapproval from different members of the same public at the same time is at least an evidence that the events were reported objectively.[144]

Turner's interpretation is that since the essential mechanism of the public is discussion centering upon the news, both uniformity and diversity are required to maintain social stability and to generate social change. News is discussed because it is capable of more than one interpretation; in order for news to circulate there must be some degree of rapport in the community as well as a degree of inner tension denoting existing differences of opinion.[145] That discussion arises from differing interpretations of events by individuals,

parties and groups assumes a common frame of reference that makes discussion possible.[146] Park wrote that "there is and there can be no such thing as news, in so far as concerns politics, except in a community in which there is a body of tradition and common understanding in terms of which events are ordinarily interpreted."[147]

Turner believes Park foreshadowed the two-step flow theory of mass communication in recognizing that editorials are read mainly by an intellectual and political elite, who then relay their opinions.[148] The news, however, is read by the masses, eventually bringing discussion of events into the universe of discourse of the common person:[149] "Facts are, after all, only facts in a universe of discourse and . . . every public has its own."[150] Therefore, the public opinion that forms as a result of discussion represents interpretations which individuals make for themselves, tempered by the interpretations of the same events made by other individuals with whom the event has been discussed.[151]

*The Social Functions of News*

"The ordinary function of news," Park wrote, "is to keep individuals and societies oriented and in touch with their world and with reality by minor adjustments."[152] Where news succeeds in orienting individuals and society to the actual world, it "tends to preserve the sanity of the individual and the permanence of society."[153]

Park differentiated between individual and public minds as receivers of new information but considered that "news performs somewhat the same functions for the public that perception does for the individual man; that is to say, it does not so much inform as orient the public . . . as to what is going on."[154]

In society at large, news initiates public opinion by promoting discussion, which tends to bring about understanding and unity, creating public feelings and opinions that otherwise might be stifled.[155] It also functions to facilitate social mobility, which depends upon communication resources as well as transportation. "Contacts of mobility," which offer communication, novelty and news and which promote collective behavior and public opinion are major sources of social change.[156]

Park distinguished the effect of news on individuals from that of the editorial. Since individuals can interpret news differently, news

tends to disperse attention and take discussion out of the realm of abstract ideas, bringing it within the limits of the comprehension and the frame of reference of the ordinary person. The editorial, on the other hand, focuses attention on a principle or a program for political action.[157]

Park saw news as a factor in promoting citizen participation in democratic decision-making. "Through the newspaper the common man . . . participates in the social movements of his time."[158]

> The extent to which news circulates within a political unit or a political society determines the extent to which the members of such a society may be said to participate, not in its collective life . . . but in its political acts. . . . (News) is thus the stuff which makes political action possible.[159]

Turner's interpretation, however, is that Park did not see it as the function of the news to *shape* public opinion:

> It is the role of the press to facilitate the emergence of a collective will after a sequence of agitation and unrest. By dispersing and distracting attention, news decreases tension, and by keeping people in touch with a larger world than the immediate publics, encourages them to break out of these limited circles and act on their own.[160]

Finally, Park adopted Walter Lippmann's position regarding the importance of news in the poitical process and in the preservation of democracy: "Only insofar as the sources of news are not fouled by propaganda is it possible for a people to preserve the liberties guaranteed them by the existence of a democratic society."[161]

THE NEWSPAPER AS AN INSTITUTION OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The major premise is that the newspaper organization is an evolutionary, institutional purveyor of information which functions to bring about both social stability and social change.

*Newspapers are social institutions engaged in an ecological struggle for existence.*

The predominant type at any one time is the type that has survived competition and adapted to changing social conditions.

Circulation is a measure of both revenue and readership.

Urbanization and social structure influence the institutionalization of newspapers as mechanisms of social control.

Newspapers provide a means of communication in urban areas, where secondary rather than primary contacts are relied upon for social interaction.

*Newspapers undergo a continual, historical process of development and adaptation over time and space.*

To survive, newspapers adapt in successive stages to changing social need.

Newspapers can change social definitions of news in the process of adaptation to

gain circulation and advertising.

*The foreign-language press functions to assimilate immigrants into American culture.*

*Patterns of territorial distribution of newspapers are determined by competing interests in limited territories of population concentrations at local, regional and national levels.*

Changes in social organization and urbanization are reflected in newspaper circulations; newspaper circulation can be taken as a measure of urbanization.

Newspaper circulation is determined ecologically by population distributions and economic competition.

Newspapers circulate over the natural areas within which society is organized.

*Newspapers evolve into public institutions which provide a major societal mechanism of socialization and social control.*

Newspapers initiate public opinion but it should not be their role to shape it.

The newspaper is a social institution, the outcome of an historical process of continuous institutional evolution. Social institutions in general emerge over time by means of a process of social evolution through competition, in Park's view, representing social movements which survive cultural conflict and the economic struggle for existence.[162] Newspaper organizations are institutionalized disseminators of information, which in turn initiates public opinion. The growth of newspaper organizations is intertwined with urbanization and industrialization processes, and the types of news emphasized by various types of newspaper organizations are major variables explaining social control through public opinion.

### *Institutional Evolution*

The press, as a social institution engaged in a struggle for existence, adapts to changing conditions by assuming societal roles, enabling its survival. The economic struggle for survival is a struggle for circulation, since a newspaper must not only be printed, edited, circulated and read but also must survive by gaining revenue.[163] Circulation is a measure of both revenue and readership. The type of newspaper that exists is the type that survives the struggle.[164]

Growing urbanization is the critical social process influencing the institutionalization of newspapers. To Park, literacy and reading are largely a product of city life, since both become necessities in the urban environment:

City people . . . have . . . no neighbors. In such a world, it is almost as necessary to be able to read a newspaper as it is to speak the language. How else can one know what is going on in this vastly complicated life of the city?[165]

In the city, a newspaper provides a function formerly supplied by the village gossip. In smaller communities, the newspaper cannot compete with village gossip as a means of social control, because "in a small community, no individual is so obscure that his private affairs escape observation and discussion. . . . The absence of this in the city is what . . . makes the city what it is."[166] Urban people are influenced and modified by the intricate system of communication which takes on a special form, relying upon secondary, rather than primary, contacts. The newspaper, the telephone and the mails take the place of village gossip and the town meeting as initiators of opinion and morale.[167]

Thus, the growth of cities led to the inevitable growth of newspapers "as the great medium of communication within the city,"[168] and the resulting struggle for circulation in the emerging trade centers.

*Urbanization and the Development of the Newspaper*

The ecological evolution of newspapers in the United States Park saw as a process of adapting in successive stages to the changing social needs of individuals and groups within an increasingly urban society. He traced the historical development of newspapers from newsletters to opinion journals, the independent press and, finally, to the yellow press, placing each in historical and social contexts as institutional mechanisms of public opinion and social control. For example, he described the first newspapers (newsletters) as "primarily devices for organizing gossip."[169]

A second phase took place when newspapers became political party organs, with opinion journals superseding the newsletters late in the 18th Century. As cities expanded, and as life grew more complex, political parties recognized that to survive they needed a permanent communication mechanism. As a journal of political opinion, the newspaper took over the function of the political pamphlet, expressing opinion in the form of lead editorials. Later, as powerful political machines developed, some independent newspapers revolted, leading to another phase in the evolution.[170] The indepen-

dent press, especially in large cities, broke away from party domination as the struggle for circulation continued, and a new political power arose: news and the reporter, finding expression in both newspapers and magazines.[171]

By the 1880s the type of newspaper that emphasized news rather than politics supplanted the journals of political opinion. The "yellow press" emerged not as an extension of the opinion journals, but from the penny papers which originated in 1833, and, while less respectable than the opinion journals, soon gained a wider circulation "among the mechanics and the masses," by changing the definition of news.[172]

Park's interpretation is that penny papers such as the New York *Sun* succeeded because they printed "more police news and less politics" than their rivals. The old-time journalists had seen it as part of their role to protect the public morals:

> If God let things happen that were not in accordance with the conceptions of the fitness of things, they simply suppressed them. They refused to . . . let their readers learn about things that they knew ought not to have happened.

The newer journals, however, tended to print "anything that God would let happen."[173]

News people discovered that circulation could be greatly increased by making literature of the news, and the yellow press attracted a readership whose only literature was the family story paper or the cheap novel.[174] "The formula was love and romance for the women; sports and politics for the men." The effect was to increase newspaper circulation enormously and to extend the newspaper habit to the masses. The goal was to tell in the simplest language possible, with the aid of diagrams and pictures, what everyone had always known—anything "to compel a dull-minded and reluctant public to read."[175]

As to the yellow journalist's conceptions of the public, Park wrote:

> Arthur Brisbane, one of the most distinguished members of the profession, is reported to have said, in explaining the policy of the Hearst papers, that the public is like a baby in the bath. You have to drum on the bath tub to keep it amused while you labor to improve its condition.[176]

The yellow press passed into history by the early 20th Century, but Park emphasized that it had made reading easy and popular

and brought within the circle of a single public a larger number of people, with a wider range of interests and knowledge than any other type of newspaper. "As a form of literature, the yellow press was at least democratic."[177]

### *The Foreign-Language Press and Assimilation*

A second crucial influence upon the natural history of newspapers in the United States was the immigrant. A large part of the immigrant population began to read newspapers, even those who had not read them in their home country, where conduct was based largely upon face-to-face relationships. In America, where the population was mobile, the immigrant "reads a paper because practically every immigrant organization publishes some sort of a paper,"[178] and because literacy had become an essential means of communication in the city.

The newspaper's problem was how to bring the immigrant and his descendants into the circle of newspaper readers.[179] Immigrants frequently had not been permitted to read in their own language in their native country: the peasants had never learned to read and the papers were comprehensible only to the elite.

Park's interpretation was that the American native-language immigrant press served to strengthen the national identity of the immigrant population, but, by printing articles about the United States as well, it also served to socialize the newcomers as Americans and assimilate them into American culture.[180] Once the new Americans acquired the newspaper habit from reading a foreign-language newspaper, they were eventually attracted to the American papers, particularly the more sensational ones.

> They graduate into Mr. Hearst's papers from the foreign-language press, and when the sensationalism of these papers begins to pall, they acquire a taste for some of the soberer journals. At any rate, Mr. Hearst has been a great Americanizer.[181]

### *Urbanization and the Distribution of Newspapers*

Just as Park had chronicled the relationships between urbanization and the evolution of the newspaper as a social institution, he later (in 1929 and 1933) examined ecologically how newspaper cir-

culation could be used as a measure of urbanization.[182] He hypothesized that the patterns of territorial distribution of newspapers are determined by the gradual accommodation of competing interests within a limited territory in the same way as populations, industries and other institutions distribute themselves.

Park felt that changes in social organization leading to varying degrees of urbanization are accurately reflected in newspaper circulations.[183] By plotting them on a map, he found that they marked out the boundaries of local trade areas and measured the extent and degree of dependence of the suburbs upon the metropolitan center and, in turn, the dependence of the metropolitan area on the larger region it dominates, in successive concentric zones.

Park described the commercial value of news and the newspaper as a vehicle for advertising as the main factors influencing the high correlation between circulation and urban concentration. In empirical studies of Chicago newspapers and those of seven surrounding communities, Park demonstrated how the size of the trading area within which any newspaper will circulate is determined by size of the town, city or metropolitan area, and proximity to other competing centers of publication. He found similar influences dominant in determining the areas of circulation of metropolitan and local newspapers within a given region, as well as the circulation of newspapers published within a larger city, such as the foreign-language papers and shoppers.[184] As competing interests within a limited territory were gradually accommodated, the highest possible use of available space is achieved. "The existing territorial distribution of newspaper circulation . . . is an index of the . . . social and economic organization of the region."[185]

Finally, Park applied his hypothesis to the nation as a whole. His rationale was that since communication is fundamental to the existence of all societies, a form of it, the newspaper, would be found to circulate over the natural areas within which society is organized.[186] Selecting a number of large cities and plotting the circulation of newspapers published in those cities on a map, he found that indeed "the limits of each of the regions so defined were coterminous with those of adjoining regions, and the whole country was divided into a number of cultural and economic provinces, each with a single dominant city."[187] He suggested that newspaper data be used in identifying metropolitan regions.

### *The Newspaper As a Public Institution of Social Control*

In 1920 Park wrote that "evidently the newspaper is an institution that is not yet fully understood. . . . As a matter of fact, we do not know much about the newspaper. It has never been studied."[188] By 1927, however, after he applied his ecological approach to the study of the newspaper as a social institution, he noted that newspapers had become huge enterprises. Although he sensed a growing public responsibility on the part of the press, he also recognized an increasing public insistence that, though privately owned, it is nevertheless a public servant:

> Under these circumstances, the newspaper has ceased to be a mere extension of . . . its editor or an appendage of a political party. It has become, in a very real sense, a public institution.[189]

Park does not appear to have anticipated the degree of informal social control exerted within newspaper organizations themselves, influenced by peers as well as publishers and editorial policies. Nor did he anticipate the development of media monopolies, cross-media ownership and other patterns of media control and their implications for an inequitable distribution of information in society.

PUBLIC OPINION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

The final major premise is that the public opinion process is a primary mechanism of social control in a democratic society.

*The public is a fundamental social collectivity.*

The public is a spontaneous, impermanent and non-spatially contiguous entity which forms around issues, attempts to develop a dominant consensus and acts on the issue in a concerted manner.

The mechanism which unites the public is rational discussion, which is marked by disunification.

In times of intense conflict, substitutes in the form of force must replace discussion so that the society may continue to function.

*Public opinion solidifies into mores, norms, policies, rights, laws and institutions, becoming a stabilizing and conservatizing force, rather than an innovating one.*

The foundation of government is public opinion.

Ceremony is a major public opinion mechanism by which citizens participate in government.

*The more society relies on secondary relationships, the more important public opinion becomes as a source of social control.*

Facts, news and new ideas are the stimuli for public opinion.

Principal agents of fact-development are educational institutions and, especially in an urbanized, industrialized society, the mass media.

The power of the press derives from its ability to initiate the forces of public opinion and subsequent political action, such that the greater the crisis, the greater the power of the press.

Published polls are a source of information about common understandings and tendencies toward consensus in society.

### *Concepts of Crowd and Public*

The concepts of "crowd" and "public," which were the primary subjects of Park's Ph.D. dissertation on fundamental collectivities, were of special interest to him as groups central to social change. In *The Crowd and the Public* he meticulously separated these two concepts from an exhaustive and mutually exclusive list of group types. Crowd and public are related to all other groups but are different in that they "reveal the process through which new groups are formed, although they are not yet conscious of themselves as groups."[190] They are elementary, spontaneous and non-regulated forms.

New interests or issues are the catalysts which create the two forms, and "the collective drive" propels both. The public can resemble the crowd when crisis intensifies public opinion and therefore increases the possibility of catastrophic action. Otherwise, the two forms differ. In the public, the drive is dispersed into many pools of individuals and groups which form around differing points of view.[191]

Individuals become members of a crowd solely on their ability to feel emotion about an issue, but members of a public must be able to consider an issue rationally and discuss it with others logically. Although publics also react to "contagious excitements," they maintain a more rational and critical attitude, and the expression of collective excitement is somewhat less immediate and direct.[192] The crowd thinks with one uncritical mind; the public is divided within itself by differing points of view.

The mechanism which unites a crowd is rapport; the cohesive element in a public is rational discussion.[193] Further, the cementing agent in a society is morale, the ability to maintain tension over time and carry a collective action to completion. Rapport differs from morale because it is unpremeditated. Rational discussion differs from both because it is marked by disunification:

(Public opinion) is on the surface of things; it does not reflect the attitudes and

points of view on which the community is united. The very existence of public opinion is itself evidence that we are not at the moment united in regard to what as a nation or a people we should do.[194]

Further, rational discussion does not always lead to consensus. Instead, intense dissension can result and, in time of severe conflict, must be replaced by other forms of action, including violence. Turner contends that this point has not received the attention it is due. Although some persons have the impression that Park was a "consensus" rather than a "conflict" theorist, Turner believes this is not so:

The superficial consensus grounded in tradition gives the impression of an agreement, which sanctions the acts of officials. But through discussion people penetrate this surface consensus, lay bare hidden disagreements, and find the reconciliation of their views more difficult than heretofore. . . . It is not the function of publics to make peace, and war is often the natural continuation of discussion.[195]

Lastly, the crowd and the public are acting groups. The crowd acts by focusing attention and intensifying emotion about an object. The public acts by trying to develop a central tendency toward a decision.

Although one of the most obvious contrasts between the two forms is that the crowd is physically contiguous and the public is not, Park's concept of crowd includes that of mass, which Blumer later gave a separate concept.[196] (The mass is anonymous for the most part, interacts little if at all, and is so loosely organized that it cannot act in a body. Action occurs, but only by individuals.)

### *The Public Opinion Process*

Of crowd and public, the latter dominates Park's concern because it is a collectivity which can provide organized and consistent action—an orderly means of social control. A public is conscious of an issue and holds opinions about it, but it never achieves unanimity, although it attempts to develop a dominant consensus.

What we ordinarily mean by public opinion is never the opinion of anyone in particular. It is composite opinion, representing a general tendency of the public as a whole. On the other hand, we recognize that public opinion exists, even when we do not know any individual person, among those who compose the public, whose private and personal opinion exactly coincides with that of the public of which he or she is a part.[197]

Park envisioned the public as being "the widest area over which there is conscious participation and consensus . . ," having a "circumference" and a "center." Within the public is an eye of the hurricane marking the point of consensus, which tends to oscillate. If it becomes concentrated and directed toward a specific goal, it becomes a social movement. Public emotion may center on the correctness as well as the results of information. Public opinion is directly related to a particular outcome and has direction and intensity ("movement in two dimensions").[198] Minority groups are seen as having more intensity of opinion than majorities. Further, intensity of opinion carries more weight than mere numbers.[199]

Public opinion occurs as part of the political process within the ethos, "the sum of the characteristic usages, ideas, standards and codes by which a group (is) differentiated and individualized in character from other groups."[200] During the slow metamorphosis of change, public opinion replaces the force of innovation with equilibrium. But if discussion is impossible because opinion is so diverse and fragmented, substitutes for it in the form of force must be employed temporarily if the society is to continue functioning. Some of these substitutes are "strikes and other limited forms of violence for the settlement of disputes in which the government and the general public do not want to intervene—except as arbitrators."[201] War is the ultimate form of political action, replacing general discussion. In this sense, elections are an alternative to war; in fact, Park thought this was why violence is associated with elections in many countries.

The concept of rights, which Park considered to be the opposite of force, is necessary for democratic discussion and action: rights depend on society's capacity to enforce them. Rights and public opinion grow out of the same process. Park's interpretation is that rights are public opinion incorporated into social mores. The mores "may be regarded as the products of public opinion," because they represent a consensus on matters about which society once clashed but now agrees.[202] Public opinion and mores are bound together: opinion is in constant flux, but it is the agent that gives direction to gradual change in mores.[203]

The political process contains institutionalized consensus in the form of administrative policies, laws and judicial bodies as well as

deliberation about issues. "Once public opinion becomes dogma, doctrine, or law (fixed or codified), it is a stabilizing and conservative rather than an innovating force."[204] Institutions and other products of public opinion solidify sentiments, ideas and interests transmitted from generation to generation. Institutions "tend to assume a more conventional, external, and unyielding character. In the end people live in their institutions like a snail in its shell."[205]

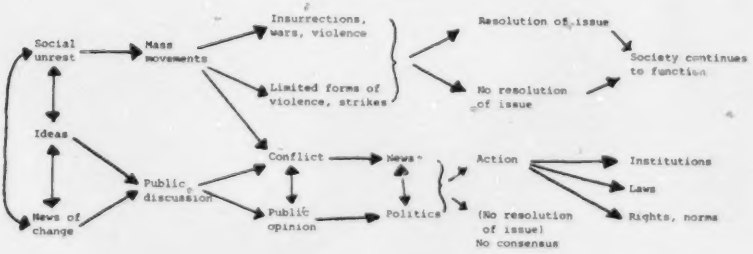
Following Hume, Park thought the foundation of government was public opinion, although he added that governments can sustain themselves by force as well.[206] A principle public opinion mechanism for citizen participation in government is ceremony. Ceremonies call up learned emotions related to their occasions.

> Most of our purely political activities, our election to public office and our courts, are rather ceremonial than practical. Why else is it important that the whole population should participate in the elections? Why is it that the courts are expected to perform their services in public and that the public is expected to participate through the medium of the jury in its decisions? It is only in this way that everyone may *feel* the government and the courts is his act. . . .[Emphasis Park's.]
>
> The very fact of participating, even indirectly, stirs in him the attitude and sentiments of one who performs the act and creates in him a sense of responsibility for it. So, also, he abides by the results of an election or of a decision of the court, even when it goes against his wishes because it has been performed with the proper ceremonies and in accordance with the accepted conventions.[207]

## *Public Opinion and Social Control*

The study of social control was Park's ultimate interest. He once wrote, "All social problems turn out finally to be problems of social control."[208]

*Park's View of the Public Opinion Process*



Agents of social control are social unrest (shifting currents of opinion), mass movements (currents of opinion with defined goals), and "institutions in which society is formed and reformed," which "rest upon the mores and are supported by public opinion."[209] According to Turner, these are successive steps in a natural history of society.[210]

Early in his academic career, Park pointed out that the more society relies on secondary relationships, the more important public opinion becomes as a source of social control. He chose the city as his laboratory because it is built on secondary relationships.[211]

Public opinion in a free society requires novelty, news, facts and public sentiment. News of change or its possibility initiates deliberation and conflict, creating more news, and its frequent companion, politics. A model of the process[212] which Park envisioned is shown in Figure 3. Public opinion cannot develop without facts. Its formation is facilitated by schools and universities because they present new knowledge and old traditions, and they "standardize the national prejudices" (although not seeking to influence public opinion).[213] However, the mass media are even more important sources of facts. Park echoed Tarde's assertion that the public is a product of the printing press and hypothesized that the press is most potent when a crisis exists.

The role of the press is to present issues in the form of news, and to interpret the news editorially, thus helping to shape a "collective will." The result is political power, leading to action and the end of discussion. It is the ability to achieve action which gives the press its power. The ultimate sources of that power are public and private grievances which politicians use to advantage, news, "since grievances make news and news makes opinion," editorial policy, which transforms grievances into causes, and circulation, disseminating this information throughout a democracy "where everyone reads."[214]

Editorial and news pages play different roles in opinion formation; editorials foster maintenance of morale by sharpening the focus on objects of attention, but the effect of news is to scatter attention. Distraction of attention tends to decrease the morale-producing tension in society, but this is not dysfunctional. Discussion, upon which public opinion is based, tends to bring about under-

standing and unity—brings into the open sentiments and attitudes that would otherwise be suppressed, thus improving morale.[215]

Public opinion polls may play a special part in maintenance of morale. They appear to fulfill the function of notifying people of common understandings on issues of interest, pointing out tendencies toward consensus. According to Park's natural history of interaction, there may be pressures for conflict to move toward consensus, a sort of balance theory applied to societies, which provides theoretical support for a "bandwagon effect."

The pressures for conflict to evolve into consensus may not be consensus *per se* but rather a decision that will give some semblance of unity to the society and enable it to function. This decision may not necessarily provide an end to controversy, and in fact may become the starting point for new social friction.

## *CONCLUSION*

Park's theory of news, public opinion and social control is clearly a functional one, and one which applies under conditions of democracy, heterogeneity of population, urbanization and industrialization. It is a theory of how social change takes place through successive stages involving the reporting of news and the initiation of public opinion. It explains how pressures for change can translate into structural change while maintaining societal stability. An ecological, evolutionary model underlies the theory and gives it its dynamic and cyclical character.

What was unique to Park's conception of crowds and publics was his realization that they are not isolated, transitory disruptions but are part of a larger picture of social movements, of which the members may not be conscious.[216] Crowds and publics are not the antithesis of social order as had been previously supposed. Park's study of them sought common patterns which would be discerned by means of natural history techniques, from which could be extracted a representative and generalizable picture, an ideal type.[217]

Probably of the greatest significance in Park's theory is his work on the concept of publics, yet few have pursued it. Although Park's course on "the Crowd and the Public" was among his most popular, only two doctoral dissertations dealt with collective behavior. Four of Park's students dealt with newspapers (the Hugheses, Wirth and

Blumer), but only Blumer and two of his students continued work on the concept of publics.[218] The field of public opinion has tended to focus on the psychological concept "opinion," rather than the sociological concept "public." A return to Park's conception of collective behavior might enrich mass communication theory and research.

Although Park did not present formal hypotheses, testable hypotheses may be derived from the theory as reconstructed here. For example:

The greater the amount of news about a different cultural group over time, the more likely that cultural group will be accommodated and eventually assimilated by society.

The greater the amount of conflict reported by the mass media, the greater the number of points of view and the less likely it is that consensus will occur.

The greater the number of mass media outlets and the greater the diversity in their content, the more heterogeneous the points of view that will develop within a public regarding an issue.

The greater the number of mass communication outlets in a community and the more diverse their output, the greater the amount and rate of social change.

The less the consensus in the public, the greater the development of special interest groups which attempt to act on the issue, the greater the amount of conflict among them and the greater the pressure for social change as a means of accommodation.

The greater the rate of knowledge acquisition in a population group such as a neighborhood, the greater the rate of formation of publics.

Park's theory has the potential to unify separate research strands including agenda-setting, gatekeeping, the knowledge-gap and interest groups, all of which have impact upon the public opinion process. For instance, if the agenda-setting hypothesis is correct, then the media help to activate some publics while incapacitating others. Gatekeeping research seeks to understand the factors at different levels which influence media agendas. Because of Park's emphasis on information, knowledge or "facts" as a pre-condition for the development of publics, his theory can be linked to research on the knowledge gap. The primary knowledge gap hypothesis is that as mass media information increases, higher socioeconomic segments of the population tend to acquire it at a faster rate than lower socioeconomic segments, so that the knowledge gap between the two groups tends to increase.[219]

Park's focus on collective behavior and the public as a commun-

icating and acting group also relates to interest group theory.[220] Turner and Killian note that publics may be composed of clusters of smaller groups which need not be in direct contact: the public operates "through various linking groups and through common attention to mass media."[221] Issues of political interest may be expected to generate factions or interest groups within an interested public. The development of and amount and form of conflict among the interest groups depends in part upon social position and degree of power and influence: numbers, wealth, organizational strength, leadership, access to and ability to create decision-makers and internal cohesion,[222] all of which may also influence access to information about an issue. The more the issue calls for redistribution of valued societal resources,[223] the lower the public consensus and the more likely that interest groups will form around the issue. Study of the role of mass media in linking and locating interest groups within a public would add depth and specificity to Park's theory.

As a theory, it fulfills three of Reynold's[224] five goals of scientific knowledge: description, explanation and providing a sense of understanding; it is not yet useful for prediction or control. The theory contributes to two of four areas of public opinion study identified by Davison[225]—analysis of the political role of public opinion and of the media and those seeking to manipulate them. It also emphasizes the need to study the public as a collective body.

Of course, Park was time-bound in his treatment of the mass media and their role in society. He may have been aware of the possibility of television, but he did not discuss it in his writings. He might have approved of the "happy talk" style of informal news presentation as a democratic technique of attracting viewers. Park surely would have applauded TV documentaries as sowers of the seeds of social change. He also would have appreciated editorials which are analytical and help to integrate the bits and pieces of news on a single subject as well as the background "analyses" many newspapers publish. He would have been pleased by the trend toward more investigative reporting as a facilitator of social change.

Undoubtedly, Park would have been dismayed by monopolistic practices and cross-media ownership patterns because of their potential to homogenize cultures and to limit public access and discus-

sion. But he might have been excited by the implications of cable television and communication satellites for their potential to bring about the ultimate world community.

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119. *Ibid.*, 36-7.
120. Robert E. Park, "The Mind of the Hobo: Reflections Upon the Relation Between Mentality and Locomotion" (1925), in *The City*, p. 159.
121. "Communication and Culture," 115-16.
122. Robert E. Park, "News as a Form of Knowledge" (1940), in E. C. Hughes *et al.*, eds., *Society, supra*, n. 8, p. 77.
123. E.g., Phillips adds to Park's observation that news is "acquaintance with" (knowledge of) that the journalist's own storehouse of knowledge about events is also "acquaintance with." She believes that this works against Park's vision of a press functioning to its fullest within society. E. Barbara Phillips, "Novelty Without Change," *Journal of Communication*, 26:87-92 (1976), p. 89.
124. "News as a Form of Knowledge," 77.
125. Park, "Morale and the News," *supra*, n. 8, p. 137.
126. "News as a Form of Knowledge," 81.
127. Robert E. Park. "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment" (1916), in *The City*, p. 19.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
129. "News as a Form of Knowledge," p. 80.
130. Robert E. Park, "Natural History" (1923), in *The City*, p. 93.

131. "News and the Human Interest Story" (1940), in E. C. Hughes, *et al.*, eds., *Society*, p. 108.
132. "Morale and the News," 137.
133. "News and the Human Interest Story," 110.
134. "Life History," 254.
135. *Ibid.* Although Park may have described the distribution of cases accurately, he was wrong about the source of infection. Diphtheria does not spread through water. (See Gaylord W. Anderson, Margaret G. Arnstein and Mary R. Lester, *Communicable Disease Control*, 4th Ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1962).
136. "Morale and the News," 139.
137. "Human Interest Story," 113.
138. "Reflections on Communication and Culture," 115.
139. "Morale," 140.
140. "Form of Knowledge," 88.
141. Robert E. Park, "American Newspaper Literature," in E. C. Hughes, *et al.*, eds., *Society*, 179.
142. Park described the editorial pages and the news columns of newspapers as having different origins: News columns originated with early newsletters written by correspondents in Europe to friends and relatives in the U.S.; the editorial developed out of letters to the editor, expressing opinion on debatable measures. "News and the Power of the Press" (1941), in E. C. Hughes *et al.*, eds., Society, 122.
143. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
144. "Human Interest Story," 108.
145. P. xliv.
146. Park, "News and the Power of the Press," 119-20.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
148. P. xlv.
149. Park, "Power of the Press," 124.
150. Park, "Human Interest Story," 108.
151. "Power of the Press," 123-4.
152. "Morale," 140.
153. "Form of Knowledge," 86.
154. *Ibid.*, 79.
155. "Morale," 141.
156. Park and Burgess, *Introduction*, 284.
157. "Power of the Press," 124.
158. *Introduction*, 284.
159. "Form of Knowledge," 79.
160. P. xlv.
161. "Power of the Press," 124.
162. *Introduction*, 873.
163. Circulation, of course, is not the only criterion of success. A referee for this monograph pointed out that "it is not uncommon for large-circulation papers (e.g., the New York *Mirror*) to lose advertising faster than circulation and then go

under," reflecting a tendency of advertisers to support one paper, or one afternoon and one morning paper per city. See Leo Bogart, *Strategy in Advertising* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967); Ben H. Bagdikian, *The Information Machines* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

164. "The Great Paper Chase," *Newsweek* (May 31, 1976) describes the decline in newspaper circulation and efforts to correct the situation.

165. "The Yellow Press," *Sociology and Social Research* 12:3-11 (1927), pp. 3-4. (Also in *Society*.)

166. "The City," 39.

167. Louis Wirth, "A Bibliography of the Urban Community," in Park, Burgess and McKenzie, *The City*, p. 220.

168. Park, "The City," 39.

169. Park, "Natural History," 83.

170. *Ibid.*, 91.

171. *Loc. cit.*

172. "The Yellow Press," 7.

173. *Ibid.*

174. "Natural History," 94-5.

175. "Yellow Press," 11.

176. "Social Planning and Human Nature" (1935), in *Society*, p. 40.

177. "Yellow Press," 11.

178. Park, "Foreign Language Press" (1920) in *Society*, p. 167.

179. "Natural History," 81.

180. "Foreign Language Press," *op. cit.*

181. "Natural History," 81.

182. "Urbanization as Measured by Newspaper Circulation," *American Journal of Sociology*, 35:60-79 (1929); also, Park and Charles Newcomb, "Newspaper Circulation and Metropolitan Regions" (1933), in E. C. Hughes *et al.*, eds, *Human Communities*, *op. cit.*, 210-22.

183. "Urbanization," *Ibid.*, p. 60.

184. "Newspaper Circulation and Metropolitan Regions," *op. cit.*, 212-13.

185. *Ibid.*, 217.

186. *Ibid.*, 218.

187. *Ibid.*

188. "Natural History," 83.

189. "American Newspaper Literature," *supra*, n. 155, pp. 179-81.

190. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

191. *Ibid.*

192. *Principles of Human Behavior*, *supra*, n. 75, p. 44.

193. Park and Burgess, *Introduction*, 794.

194. "Morale," p. 141.

195. P. xlv.

196. Herbert Blumer, "Elementary Collective Groupings," in A. M. Lee, ed., *Principles of Sociology* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1969), 85-89.

197. *Introduction*, 38.

198. *Ibid.*, 791-2.

199. *Ibid.*, p. 829.

200. Park, "News and the Power of the Press," *supra*, n. 142, pp. 115-16. Park distinguished ethos from the "moral" order (mores).

201. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

202. Park and Burgess, *Introduction*, 795.

203. *Ibid.*, 831-2.

204. "Power of the Press," 116.

205. *Principles of Human Behavior*, 45.

206. *Introduction*, 829-30: David Hume, "Essay IV: Of the First Principles of Government," in *Essays: Moral, Political and Literary* (1741).

207. *Principles*, 44.

208. *Introduction*, 785.

209. *Ibid.*, pp. 786, 797.

210. *Op. cit.*, xlii.

211. "The City," 38.

212. Schematized from *The Principles of Human Behavior* and "News and the Power of the Press."

213. *Introduction*, 833.

214. "Power of the Press," *op. cit.*, p. 115-17.

215. "Morale," 141.

216. Turner, xlii.

217. R. Faris, *supra*, n. 17, p. 102.

218. *Ibid.* See Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, *Collective Behavior*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1957, 1972).

219. P. J. Tichenor, G. A. Donohue and C. N. Olien, "Mass Media Flow and Differential Growth in Knowledge," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 34:159-170 (1970).

220. For a concise discussion of interest group theory see Thomas R. Dye, *Understanding Public Policy*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975), 21-24; see also John Dewey's (1926) *The Public and Its Problems* (Chicago: Swallow Press, Inc., 1954).

221. *Op. cit.*, p. 197.

222. Dye, *op. cit.*

223. James E. Anderson, *Public Policy-Making* (New York: Praeger, 1975), 58.

224. Paul Davidson Reynolds, *A Primer in Theory Construction* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971).

225. W. Phillips Davison, "Public Opinion: Introduction," in David L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1968), 13:188-97.